

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 044 476

UD 011 052

AUTHOR Chadwick, Bruce A.; And Others
TITLE Correlates of Attitudes Favorable to Racial Discrimination Among High School Students.
INSTITUTION Washington State Univ., Pullman.
REPORT NO WAES-SP-3513
PUB DATE 70
NOTE 31p.; Revised version of paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Washington, D.C., 1970

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.25 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Behavioral Science Research, *Caucasian Students, Cross Cultural Studies, *Negro Students, Parent Role, *Racial Discrimination, Racial Factors, Socialization, Social Values, *Sociocultural Patterns, Statistical Analysis

ABSTRACT

The behavior-specific attitude "tendency to discriminate" is distinguished from the general tendency toward negative stereotyping (prejudice). Thirteen independent variables are evaluated as predictors of this tendency. Subjects were students in a racially integrated high school in the Pacific Northwest. Among white students, the most significant correlates of anti-black discriminatory attitudes are prejudice, parental social pressures, acceptance of political separatism, equal-status competition, and fear of future competition. Correlates of black students' tendencies to discriminate against whites are parental pressures, perceived institutional discrimination, assaultiveness, authoritarianism, and equal-status contact. There are indications that as the white student progresses through school the importance of peer pressures as predictors of discriminatory attitudes are enhanced while the role of fear of future competition declines. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of the original document.] (Author/DN)

ED0 44476

CORRELATES OF ATTITUDES FAVORABLE TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS*

Bruce A. Chadwick, Howard M. Eahr and
Robert C. Day

Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology
Washington State University

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION
& WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR
ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF
VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECES-
SARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDU-
CATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD011052

*An earlier version of this paper was read at the 1970 meetings of the American Sociological Association in Washington D.C. The research was supported by Research Grant No. 1973, Agricultural Research Center, College of Agriculture, Washington State University, and this paper is Scientific Paper No. 3513, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station.

ABSTRACT

Following earlier work by Hamblin, the behavior-specific attitude "tendency to discriminate" is distinguished from the general tendency toward negative stereotyping (prejudice). Thirteen independent variables, most of them previously linked to discriminatory attitudes and behavior, are evaluated as predictors of the tendency to discriminate. Subjects were students in a racially integrated high school in the Pacific Northwest. Bivariate correlations between tendency to discriminate and the independent variables are examined separately for blacks, whites, and among whites, by school class. Also, the relative strength of the variables in accounting for variance in tendency to discriminate is assessed in a stepwise multiple regression analysis. Among white students the most significant correlates of anti-black discriminatory attitudes are prejudice, parental social pressures, acceptance of political separatism, equal-status competition and fear of future competition. Correlates of black students' tendencies to discriminate against whites are parental pressures, perceived institutional discrimination, assaultiveness, authoritarianism, and equal-status contact. There are indications that as the white student progresses through school the importance of peer pressures as predictors of discriminatory attitudes are enhanced while the role of fear of future competition declines.

CORRELATES OF ATTITUDES FAVORABLE TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

In the past few years several factors have converged to increase collective tensions and conflict in high schools in the United States. One of the dominant issues has been racism,¹ and its salience as an issue is not likely to diminish in the foreseeable future. As implementation of the national policy of school integration continues, greater numbers of white and black youth from diverse backgrounds are brought together and existing racial stereotypes and behavioral tendencies are tested and modified in interracial interaction. Presumably, one of the components of the "equation" determining the probability of conflict between black and white students is the extent to which each of the populations contains persons who are prejudiced or who discriminate on the basis of racial criteria. Accordingly, it might be expected that a very high priority would be accorded the study of racial attitudes and interracial behavior among high school students. In fact, there have been relatively few studies of racial discrimination among high school students, partly because school boards, administrators, teachers and parents have opposed use of the school as a setting for social research of so "sensitive" a nature.²

One objective of the present paper is to provide information about the nature of student attitudes favorable to racial discrimination. An additional objective is the synthesis and extension of certain theoretical models developed in previous research about the antecedents of racial discrimination. One inadequacy of these models has been their simplicity with reference to the number of variables considered. Often discriminatory attitudes or behaviors have been conceptualized as deriving from one

or two independent variables, and the resulting bivariate or trivariate analyses have failed to confront the complexities inherent in racial discrimination as it occurs in the "real world." An important exception to this criticism is Hamblin's assessment of the effects of ten antecedent variables on discriminatory attitudes. In many respects the present study is a replication and extension of Hamblin's work.³

A limitation of much of the research linking attitudes and behavior that applies with special force to studies of the prejudice-discrimination nexus is the fact that not all components of an attitude imply behavior, and that the measures of prejudice usually employed tend to be abstract and general, lacking specific situational references.⁴ A logical reaction by researchers to this criticism would seem to be the identification of attitudes that are behaviorally and situationally more specific than the general tendency toward negative stereotyping, followed by the measurement of the association between these verbally expressed "tendencies to behavior" and actual discriminatory behavior. Accordingly, following Hamblin, the dependent variable in the present study is the behavior-specific attitude, "tendency to discriminate," and prejudice is conceptualized as one of the antecedents of that attitude. An assessment of the linkage between the attitudinal tendency to discriminate and discriminatory behavior will be considered in a future paper.

Thirteen independent variables are identified below, and relevant prior research is reviewed briefly. Most of these variables already have been identified as important factors in the development of racially discriminatory attitudes. However, the present study extends much of the previous work with these variables in that they are combined in

multivariate analysis in a test of the relative predictive value of each of them in competition with all the others.

Hypotheses

Each of the independent variables was linked with "tendency to discriminate" to produce 13 separate hypotheses. For the sake of brevity these hypotheses are stated in a single paragraph which is followed by a brief discussion of previous research. It is recognized that some of the research cited has to do with discriminatory behavior rather than an attitudinal tendency to discriminate, but given the assumed linkage between specific, behaviorally-oriented attitudes and discriminatory behavior, these findings seemed relevant.

It was hypothesized that attitudinal tendencies to discriminate against members of another racial or ethnic group were directly associated with: social pressures from parents to discriminate (hypothesis 1); social pressures from peers to discriminate (hypothesis 2); perceptions of members of the other group as nonconformists or non-violators (hypothesis 3); the frequency and intensity of experienced past interference with goal achievement from members of the opposing group (hypothesis 4); perceptions of future competition (in sports, dating, jobs, school opportunities, etc.) with persons of the other group (hypothesis 5); prejudice toward the out-group (hypothesis 6); anxiety about conflict with members of the opposing group (hypothesis 7); perceptions that members of one's own group have been victimized by institutional discrimination supported by the opposing group (hypothesis 8); acceptance of separatism as a solution to racial antagonism and conflict (hypothesis 9); authoritarianism (hypothesis 10); negativism (hypothesis 11); and assaultiveness (hypothesis 12). In addition it was hypothesized that attitudinal tendencies

to discriminate were inversely associated with previous equal-status interaction with members of the out-group (hypothesis 13).

The idea that the invidious discrimination and hostility toward members of out-groups was supported by in-group mores (social pressures) was suggested by Sumner, and has received wide empirical support.⁵ Sumner also suggested that one reason for the rejection of out-group individuals by members of the in-group is that the former are perceived as non-conformists. Thus, the discrimination against the other group may be justified as "punishment" for deviant behavior. Fairly strong support for this position has been reported by Pettigrew⁶ and Hamblin.⁷

Sherif's examination of the effects of direct competition for valued resources (past interference) on the emergence of intergroup aggression is well-known.⁸ The results of subsequent research on various types of interference with goal achievement tend to confirm the existence of a positive relationship between interference and discrimination.⁹ A fear of future competition (or anticipated interference) also has been identified as a correlate of racial discrimination.¹⁰

Prejudice is one of the most frequently tested antecedents of discrimination.¹¹ Although some tests of the relationship between these variables have produced ambiguous results, recent studies indicate that prejudice has a low but significant positive association with discriminatory tendencies and behavior..

An individual's feelings of anxiety about the possibility of personal involvement in racial confrontations (anxiety about race conflict) may prompt him to manifest protective, defensive tactics of avoidance or overt aggression. Such fears have been identified as part of the 'under-

current of reaction against the Negro surge in America."¹² Whether avoidance or aggression is selected as a means to alleviate anxiety, the net result may be discriminatory treatment of black persons.

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders¹³ listed a number of grievances against white society held by blacks (institutional discrimination) and suggested that repeated failure of white governmental and police agencies to respond to legitimate complaints by blacks had contributed to perceptions of injustice in the "system" and alienation from it. Such perceptions served as justification for a variety of aggressive responses, including participation in riots. A post-riot study of the Hough section of Cleveland found a significant relationship between perceived injustice of social immobility and aggressive protest orientation,¹⁴ and additional support for this position has been reported by McCord and Howard.¹⁵

Taking the perspective of the majority, it has been suggested that sympathy for the victims of discrimination is linked to the reduction of prejudice and discrimination. The notion of distributive justice within social exchange theory¹⁶ can be used as a rationale for this relationship. For example, whites who perceive an imbalance of black rewards and costs in exchanges with white-dominated systems may tend to reject tendencies that foster discrimination against blacks.

The variable acceptance of separatism reflects an attitude of acceptance of or resignation to the idea that blacks and whites will not be able to work things out and therefore a solution to racial conflict should be achieved by total political, economic and social separation of the races. The acceptance of separatism as a solution, in and of itself, implies no direct rejection of blacks.

Authoritarianism, negativism, and assaultiveness are attitudinal variables that appear to be associated with the tendency to discriminate. The relationship between authoritarianism and racial discrimination has been tested in a variety of situations with rather inconclusive results.¹⁷ Apparently it operates indirectly and in conjunction with other variables in affecting racial discrimination.¹⁸

As identified and measured by Buss and Durkee,¹⁹ negativism refers to a general individual tendency to resist and obstruct the efforts of others to achieve their goals and rewards. The response may vary from passive non-compliance to open opposition and even rebellion. No prior research on the relationship between negativistic attitudes and the tendency to discriminate was found. However, it seemed probable that negativistic persons would resist the efforts of minority group persons to get ahead in the system or to alter the status quo, and thus would manifest attitudes favorable to discrimination.

Assaultiveness may be characterized as a personality tendency to respond, even to relatively minor frustrations, with immediate physical or verbal attack against persons perceived as contributing to the frustration. The possible link between assaultiveness and discriminatory behavior has not been explored, but Gough²⁰ and Selznick and Steinberg²¹ have suggested that tendencies in some persons to respond violently may become factors in their expression of anti-semitism.

As for "equal-status contact," studies of white enlisted men fighting in companies having platoons of blacks during World War II found a significant inverse relationship between mutually rewarding equal-status contact and hostility towards blacks.²² Other studies conducted in

housing developments, university dormitories, work settings, and similar social contact situations have provided additional support for the hypothesis that discrimination is inversely related to rewarding equal-status contact.²³

METHODS

Measurement of Variables

The dependent variable, tendency to discriminate, was measured by a 15-item attitude scale patterned after the scale used by Hamblin.²⁴ The items covered a range of interracial contact situations varying from casual recognition of another's existence in hallways to more intense and personal forms of interaction. Examples of items are: "How would you feel about sitting next to a Negro (white) at lunch," ". . . about going to a school where over half the students were Negroes (whites)," ". . . about working in a small group led by a Negro (white) teacher." Respondents were asked to indicate their feelings by recording a score between -100 (extreme dislike) and +100 (extreme liking) for each item.

Two of the independent variables were measured by asking the respondent to indicate the frequency of past events. Equal-status contact (eight items) referred to the reported frequency of past interaction with blacks and past interference (five items) was concerned with frustrations and disturbances experienced in interracial contacts during school activities. Sample items from these two scales, respectively, are: "How often do you receive a friendly nod or 'hello' from a Negro (white) student," and "How often are you disturbed by loud talking, horseplay, and other disruptive behavior in classes by Negro (white) students?"

The remaining independent variables were measured by scales similar in format to that used for the dependent variable (i.e., continuum of

possible responses ranged from +100 to -100). Social pressures to discriminate were measured with reference to parents and peers. Students indicated how they thought their parents would feel about seven situations in which the student interacted with blacks, then indicated how their friends of their own race would feel about the same situations. Items ranged from 'you having a Negro (white) as a good friend' to 'you spending the night at the home of a Negro (white).' The perceived conformity scale included 13 items dealing with the adherence of members of the other race to school, community and societal norms. Sample items: "Many Negroes (whites) tend to smart off to teachers and the principal," "Negroes (whites) tend to violate the reasonable school rules more often," and "Negro (white) students tend to violate driving laws more often." The fear of future competition scale included eight items focusing on competition for academic, social and occupational rewards. Examples are: "In the future as Negroes learn about their rights, the chances for using recreational facilities will be reduced," and "In the future as more Negroes complete high school the chances for getting into junior colleges and regular colleges will be hurt." Prejudice was measured by 13 items presenting negative stereotypes of the other race such as "Negroes (whites) tend to be insulting and hostile," "Negroes (whites), as a group, are morally lax" and "Negroes (whites) don't have much ambition or drive for hard work."

There were four items relevant to anxiety about conflict; all were modeled after questions reported by Brink and Harris²⁵ and were similar in form to this sample: "Compared to a year ago, I am personally more worried about getting home safely from school because of racial violence."

Grievances listed in the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders²⁶ were used to construct a 13-item scale measuring feelings about injustices directed against blacks (institutional discrimination), with items of the form: "(Community) police officers tend to use excessive force and abuse more often against Negroes," "(Community) Negroes, generally, don't get an equal chance at the good jobs," and "(Community) Negroes are treated unfairly in the sale and rental of homes and apartments even when they have the required money." Six items tapping support for political separatism included "Blacks should give up working together with whites and just depend on their own people: and "Whites and blacks won't live peacefully together so the only solution is to set up a separate black state or states." The other variables were measured by standard instruments developed by other investigators, including eight items selected from an authoritarianism scale developed by Christie, Havel, and Seidenberg²⁷ and two subscales (negativism, five items; assaultiveness, ten items) from Buss and Durkee's inventory on aggressive responses.²⁸

Data Collection and Analysis

In order that scale items might refer explicitly to members of one's own race or other races separate instruments were prepared for white and black students. The objective was to insure that items were worked appropriately and for the variables under consideration wording was identical except for the interchanging of "Negro" and "white."

The opportunity to collect the data analyzed below came about because the authors had gained the acquaintance and confidence of key school administrators while conducting research involving minority students in the grade schools of a small industrial city in the Pacific Northwest. At the same time, the high school and its satellite junior high school

experienced continuing racial tensions and confrontations. The situation seemed ripe for a study of student attitudes about race, and after considerable negotiation permission was obtained to conduct a survey among the entire student body (over 1,300 students, including about 80 blacks).

A homeroom session was set aside and questionnaires were administered to approximately two-thirds of the student body by homeroom teachers who had been trained by the researchers. The students who did not participate missed their homeroom period for a variety of reasons, including absence due to illness, afternoon employment, involvement in practice for a Christmas musical program, and simple "cutting" of homeroom. There were also a few students who preferred not to fill out the instrument. Unfortunately, because of anxieties about the possibility that repeated exposure to the questionnaire experience might increase racial tensions, school administrators refused to grant permission for a follow-up session wherein students who had not participated might complete the questionnaire.

To minimize costs of analysis completed questionnaires were sorted by race and school class and a random sample of 110 questionnaires was selected for whites in each school class. All of the questionnaires completed by blacks were analyzed, but the relatively small number available prevented further categorization by school class. Of the 49 instruments returned by black students, only 35 were complete enough for full analysis.

The various scales were submitted to principle-axis factor analysis.²⁹ The resulting factor-weights were used to calculate standardized factor indexes for each individual respondent. The final phase of the data analysis consisted of computing the bivariate correlation coefficients (Pearsonian r) between the 15 independent variables and the dependent

variable and doing a step-wise multiple regression analysis which permitted the various independent variables to compete to "explain" the variation of the dependent variable.³⁰

RESULTS

Pearsonian correlation coefficients between the dependent and independent variables are presented in Table 1. The results indicate that among whites, eight independent variables are significantly correlated with an attitudinal tendency to discriminate. The variables in order of strength were: prejudice (hypothesis 6), perceived nonconformity (hypothesis 3), social pressures from parents (hypothesis 1), fear of future competition (hypothesis 5), political separatism (hypothesis 9), anxiety about racial conflict (hypothesis 7), assaultiveness (hypothesis 12) and equal-status contact (hypothesis 13).

Among black students only three of the hypothesized relationships received support. The independent variable most highly correlated with blacks' discriminatory attitudes was social pressures from parents (hypothesis 1). Prejudice (hypothesis 6) and perceived institutional discrimination (hypothesis 8) also manifested significant correlations with the attitudinal tendency to discriminate. Two other variables showing fairly high (although nonsignificant) correlations were past interference (hypothesis 4) from whites and negativism (hypothesis 11). Although these two hypotheses were not supported, the size of the correlation coefficient suggests a need for additional testing with a larger sample of black students. In light of the many unsupported hypotheses, it appears that the factors linked to anti-white discriminatory attitudes are quite different from those associated with anti-black tendencies.

A comparison of the correlation coefficients for the black and white samples revealed two significant differences. First, black students who indicated that institutional discrimination existed in the community showed a tendency to strike back with discrimination against whites ($r = .428$), but whites' perceptions of anti-black institutional discrimination had little bearing on their tendency to discriminate against blacks ($r = -.148$). The second interracial difference was that although whites who accept political separatism as the ultimate solution to racial conflict indicated fairly strong discriminatory tendencies, ($r = .487$), among blacks an acceptance of political separatism was not significantly correlated with anti-white attitudes ($r = .111$).

Conceivably the importance of some correlates of discriminatory tendencies might vary with age. In other words, there might be developmental trends in the salience of certain correlates of tendency to discriminate, with important changes occurring during the formative high school years. Since the data are cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, only tentative evidence for such trends can be claimed. The important question of whether such changes occur as a given individual moves through high school can only be answered through longitudinal studies.

In Table 2 the bivariate correlations between the tendency to discriminate and the independent variables are presented for each class separately. Significant differences by class appear for two independent

Table 2 About Here

variables, fear of future competition and negativism. The strength

of the relationship between fear of future competition and tendency to discriminate decreases as the student matures. It should be stressed that this finding does not stem from a decline in fear of future competition; in fact, seniors and sophomores had identical means on this scale, and juniors seemed considerably less fearful. Apparently some aspect of the educational experience, perhaps increased opportunity for rewarding exchanges with blacks or greater social maturity, reduces the salience of fear of future competition for discriminatory responses.

The second significant differential by class in school was that for seniors only, negativism (a general tendency to resist or oppose the achievement of group goals) was significantly related to discriminatory tendencies ($r = .295$). Apparently this relationship develops during the high school experience--it is not evident among sophomores ($r = .001$) but approaches statistical significance for juniors ($r = .210$).

Multivariate analysis. In an attempt to determine the relative strength of the various independent variables in accounting for the variance in attitudinal tendencies to discriminate, the data were submitted to a step-wise multiple regression analysis which simultaneously analyzed the effects of all the independent variables on the dependent variable. In effect, multiple regression analysis permits the independent variables to compete with each other to determine which have the strongest relationships with the dependent variable and provides a cumulative measure of how much variation of the dependent variable can be explained by various combinations of independent variables. The results of the multiple regression analyses are given in Table 3.

Table 3 About Here

For the white sample five variables emerged as significant predictors of the tendency to discriminate. Prejudice was the strongest variable, followed respectively by parental social pressures, acceptance of political separation, equal-status contact and fear of future competition. The multiple R is .72 and the multiple R^2 is .52 (after correction for shrinkage).³¹ In other words, these five variables are able to "explain" 52 percent of the variation in tendency to discriminate among the white respondents. The correlations between the various independent variables which survived the multiple regression analysis are presented in Table 4. Several of the inter-correlations are significant and

Table 4 About Here

will be discussed later.

The multiple regression equation for the black sample also included five variables. The multiple R and R^2 in predicted tendency to discriminate from these five variables are, respectively, .745 and .557. Parental pressures was the most powerful predictor, followed by perceived institutional discrimination, assaultiveness, authoritarianism, and equal-status contact. The last two variables, authoritarianism and equal status contact, manifested a negative correlation, and in the equal status contact, manifested a negative correlation, and in the former case the inverse relationship was unexpected.

DISCUSSION

The results highlight the importance of negative stereotypes in

influencing discriminatory attitudes of white high school students, as indicated by the direct association between tendency to discriminate and both prejudice and perceived nonconformity. An attempt was made to keep the prejudice and nonconformity scales independent, but considerable overlap remains ($r = .763$). This overlap resulted in prejudice eliminating nonconformity from the multiple regression equation.

A second and related finding is the importance of parental influence in shaping the perceptions and attitudes of high school students. Parents' pressures to discriminate showed a strong zero-order correlation with tendency to discriminate and was the second most important variable in the multiple regression equation. Furthermore, the significant correlation between parents' pressure to discriminate and prejudice ($r = .306$) suggests that parents are important agents in the transmission of stereotypes, which in turn may then lead to attitudes favorable to discrimination and ultimately to discriminatory behavior.

A third major finding is that anxieties concerning future interaction with blacks play an important role in producing attitudes favorable to racial discrimination. The measures of fear of future competition and anxiety about racial conflict are fairly independent ($r = .267$) despite the fact that destructive interracial conflict may be seen as an extreme form of competition. Results of the multivariate analysis indicated that the fear of legitimate competition for valued yet scarce resources was a more important correlate of discriminatory attitudes than was anxiety about one's personal safety being threatened by racial conflict. Identification of the sources of this fear of future competition is a topic for future research. Its strong positive

association with parental pressures to discriminate suggests socialization by parents as one important factor.

Another important finding is the support gained for the equal-status contact hypothesis. Whites who were placed into contact with black students by the structure and programs of the high school tended to be considerably less discriminatory than students who lacked such contact. Moreover, the contribution made by equal-status contact is clearly an independent one; it was significantly correlated with only one of the other independent variables (prejudice, $r = -.201$). Two possible explanations may be offered for this link between prejudice and equal-status contact. First, it may be that students who are strongly prejudiced avoid high school programs which would place them in close contact with black students. For example, one of the white respondents stated he didn't try out for the basketball team because black students were on the squad. Given the size and racial composition of the school, if white students wanted to limit their contact with blacks it would not be difficult for them to do so. A second possible explanation for the relationship between equal-status contact and prejudice is the traditional view that as whites and blacks interacted, prejudice declined. In the present situation it is probable that both processes were operative.

Finally, the high correlations between acceptance of political separatism and many of the other independent variables (prejudice, nonconformity, fear of future competition) as well as the dependent variable should be noted. The scale measuring political separatism was designed to deemphasize the discriminatory aspects of this variable, but the configuration of correlation it achieved suggests that attitudes

favorable to political separatism served as a legitimate or defensible "screen" behind which to hide prejudice and tendency to discriminate.

Although the small sample size precludes firm conclusions, the results of the analysis of variables associated with anti-white attitudes of black students merit some discussion. The most powerful predictors of blacks' tendency to discriminate were parental pressures to engage in or support such behavior, students' perceptions of institutional discrimination against blacks in the local community, equal-status contact, and two personality attributes, assaultiveness and authoritarianism. These findings suggest that black students who perceive institutional discrimination respond to it with generalized rejection of whites, and that this rejection or avoidance is supported by their parents.

As predicted, assaultiveness was positively correlated with tendency to discriminate. Authoritarianism, however, is inversely related to tendency to discriminate; black students who scored low on authoritarianism evidenced the greatest tendency to discriminate. This is a reversal of the typical finding of previous studies (usually of white subjects) and suggests that the correlates of authoritarianism among disadvantaged racial minorities may be quite different from those of majority individuals.

An interracial comparison of variables associated with tendency to discriminate reveals interesting similarities and differences. Both black and white students are strongly influenced by their perceptions of parental attitudes and students of both races find support for their discriminatory attitudes by pointing to norm violations by the other race and appealing to "justice," whites appeal to negative stereotypes

which portray blacks as violators of important societal norms (prejudice) while blacks manifesting a tendency to discriminate against whites stress white violation of norms prescribing equal treatment (institutional discrimination). The consistent inverse relationship for both black and white respondents between equal-status contact and tendency to discriminate suggests that the integrated high school may serve to counteract parental influences which support racial discrimination. Efforts to increase the priority and frequency of equal-status interaction among black and white students in the high school setting would seem an appropriate approach toward reducing attitudes favorable to racial discrimination.

A number of apparent developmental trends emerged when comparisons were made between white sophomores, juniors and seniors. While the influence of parental pressures is similar for each class, the increasing strength of peer pressures as a factor influencing discriminatory tendency is evident; for sophomores and juniors peer pressures are not a significant factor producing discriminatory attitudes, but among seniors they do achieve significance. Longitudinal data are required to substantiate such trends but it seems that during the high school experience there is an increase in the importance of peer influence as a correlate of attitudinal tendencies to discriminate, coupled with a relative decline in the importance of parents' attitudes. Also, during high school years fear of future competition with blacks shows a steady and significant decline in its effects on whites' discriminatory attitudes. In part, this decline may be attributed to the fact that initial experiences with blacks are personally threatening to sophomore whites. Due to de facto

residential segregation in the community, many white students have little personal experience with blacks until they enter the junior or senior high school. Perhaps the two years of actual competition with blacks demonstrates to most white students that they have nothing to fear. Also, the black drop-out rate and shift away from college preparation to vocational training may be a factor in the decline of perceived threat of competition. These observations are supported by the apparent (but nonsignificant) decline by school class in the size of the correlation between tendency to discriminate and anxiety about racial conflict. Compared to sophomores, seniors as a group seem to have developed a considerable degree of assurance and confidence that they can manage both competition and conflict situations with blacks without undue losses, and thus the relationship between these variables and discriminatory attitudes is reduced.

FOOTNOTES

1. Also among the dominant issues are the civil rights of juveniles, the instructional program, and the war in Viet Nam. See J. Lloyd Trump and Jane Hunt, "The Nature and Extent of Student Activism," NASSP Bulletin, 337 (May, 1969), pp. 150-158.
2. Among the few recent studies which have used high school students as subjects are Richard A. Schmuck, and Margaret Barron Luszki, "Black and White Students in Several Small Communities," Applied Behavioral Science, 5 (Number 2, 1969), pp. 203-220; David Gottlieb and Jay Campbell, Jr., "Winners and Losers in the Race for the Good Life: A Comparison of Blacks and Whites," Social Science Quarterly, 49 (December, 1968), pp. 593-602; Richard L. Hough, Gene F. Summers, and James O'Hara, "Parental Influence, Youth Contraculture, and Rural Adolescent Attitudes Toward Minority Groups," Rural Sociology, 34 (September, 1969), pp. 383-386; and Richard D. Bloom, "Dimensions of Adjustment in Adolescent Boys: Negro-White Comparisons," Journal of School Psychology, 7 (Spring, 1969), pp. 63-69.
3. Robert L. Hamblin, "The Dynamics of Racial Discrimination," Social Problems, 10 (Fall, 1962), pp. 103-121.
4. Howard J. Ehrlich, "Attitudes, Behavior, and the Intervening Variables," The American Sociologist, 4 (Feb., 1969), pp. 29-30; Lyle G. Warner and Melvin L. DeFleur, "Attitude as an Interactional Concept: Social Constraint and Social Distance as Intervening Variables between Attitudes and Action," American Sociological Review, 34 (April, 1969), pp. 153-169.
5. William Graham Sumner, Folkways (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1940); Gordon H. DeFries and W. Scott Ford, "Verbal Attitudes, Overt Acts, and the Influence of Social Constraint in Interracial Behavior,"

Social Problems, 16 (Spring, 1969), pp. 493-504; Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed: in Robert M. MacIver, (ed.), Discrimination and National Welfare (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1949), pp. 99-126; Melvin L. DeFleur and Frank R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts," American Sociological Review, 23 (Dec., 1958), pp. 667-673; Robert Hamblin, "The Dynamics of Racial Discrimination," p. 107.

6. Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Regional Differences in Anti-Negro Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59 (July, 1959), pp. 28-36.
7. Hamblin, "Dynamics of Racial Discrimination," p. 105.
8. Muzafer Sherif, "Experiments in Group Conflict," Scientific American, 195 (May, 1956), pp. 54-58.
9. Allen E. Winder, "White Attitudes Towards Negro-White Interaction in an Area of Changing Racial Composition," Journal of Social Psychology, 41 (February, 1955), pp. 85-102; Hamblin, "Dynamics of Racial Discrimination," pp. 106-107; James S. Frideres, "A Social-Psychological Study of Economic Discrimination Against Negroes," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Washington State University.
10. Hamblin, "Dynamics of Racial Discrimination," p. 107.
11. DeFleur and Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts;" DeFrieze and Ford, "Verbal Attitudes, Overt Acts, and the Influence of Social Constraint;" Frideres, "A Social-Psychological Study;" Harding, et al., "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations."
12. William Brink and Louis Harris, Black and White (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), pp. 109 and 115-116; Louis M. Killian, The Impossible Revolution (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 144.
For a discussion of racial discrimination as avoidance behavior

see Michael Banton, "Sociology and Race Relations," Race, I (Nov., 1959), pp. 3-14.

13. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 146-148.
14. Don R. Bowen, Elmor Bowen, Sheldon Gavisser and Louis H. Masotti, "Deprivation, Mobility, and Orientation Toward Protest of the Urban Poor," in Louis H. Masotti and Don R. Bowen, eds., Riots and Rebellion: Civil Violence in the Urban Community (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1968), pp. 187-200.
15. William McCord and John Howard, "Negro Opinions in Three Riot Cities," in Masotti and Bowen, Riots and Rebellion, pp. 174-186.
16. George C. Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), pp. 232-264; Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), pp. 151-160.
17. Herbert Greenberg, Arthur L. Chase, and Thomas M. Cannon, Jr., "Attitudes of White and Negro High School Students in a West Texas Town Toward School Integration," Journal of Applied Psychology, I (Number 1, 1957), pp. 30-41; Theodore W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1960); Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: A Cross National Comparison," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 2 (March, 1958), pp. 29-42; Richard L. Simpson, "Negro-Jewish Prejudice: Authoritarianism and Some Social Variables as Correlates," Social Problems, 7 (Fall, 1959-1960), pp. 138-146; Alan H. Robert and Milton Rokeach, "Anomie,

- Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (Jan., 1956), pp. 355-359; Hamblin, "Dynamics of Racial Discrimination." pp. 103-104.
18. Hamblin, "Dynamics of Racial Discrimination." pp. 113-115.
 19. Arnold Buss and Ann Durkee, "An Inventory for Assessing Different Kinds of Hostility," Journal of Consulting Psychology, (Aug., 1957), pp. 343-349.
 20. Harrison G. Gough, "Studies of Social Intolerance: I. Some Psychological and Sociological Correlates of Anti-Semitism," Journal of Social Psychology, 33 (May, 1951), pp. 237-246.
 21. Gertrude J. Selznick and Stephen Steinberg, The Tenacity of Prejudice (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).
 22. Theodore M. Newcomb, "Opinions about Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies of Seven Divisions," in Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, Eugene L. Hartley, eds., Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Hold, 1952), pp. 502-506.
 23. Barbara MacKenzie, "The Importance of Context in Determining Attitudes Towards Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 43 (October, 1948), pp. 417-441; I. N. Brophy, "The Luxury of Anti-Negro Protest," Public Opinion Quarterly, 9 (Winter, 1945-1946), pp. 456-466; Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle Walkley, and Stuart W. Cook, Human Relations in Interracial Housing, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955; Greenberg et al., "Attitudes of White and Negro High School Students;" Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins, Interracial Housing, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951, 1968).

24. Hamblin, "Dynamics of Racial Discrimination", p. 120. Copies of all scales are available upon request.
25. Brink and Harris, Black and White, p. 211.
26. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, pp. 146-148.
27. Richard Christie, Joan Havel and Bernard Seidenberg, "Is the F Scale Irreversible?" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 56 (March, 1958) pp. 143-159.
28. Buss and Durkee, "An Inventory for Assessing Different Kinds of Hostility."
29. For a discussion of the method used to perform the principle axis factor analysis of a correlation matrix see: S. H. Thomson, The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability, 4th ed. (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1950), pp. 70-74.
30. This program computes a sequence of multiple linear regression equations in a stepwise manner. At each step one variable is added to (or taken from) the regression equation. The variable added is the one which makes the greatest reduction in the error sum of squares. Equivalently it is the variable which has highest partial correlation with the dependent variable partialled on the variables which have already been added and equivalently it is the variable which, if it were added, would have the highest F value. . . Variables are automatically removed when their F values become too low." W. J. Dixon (ed.), BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs, (Los Angeles: Health Sciences Computing Facility, Department of Medicine and Public Health, School of Medicine, University of California at Los Angeles), p. 233.

31. When Multiple R is used there is a tendency for a slightly inflated R due to the smaller number of degrees of freedom because of additional calculations. This bias towards an inflated R increases as the number of variables in the equation (n) approaches the number of cases (N). In this study, since the Ns are relatively small the bias towards an inflated R may be substantial and a correction for shrinkage is employed. The formula is:

$$r'_{1.23\dots n} = 1 - (1 - r^2_{1.23\dots n}) \left(\frac{N-1}{N-n} \right)$$

Quinn McNemar, Psychological Statistics, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1962), p. 184.

TABLE 1

BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT
VARIABLES AND TENDENCY TO DISCRIMINATE
FOR BLACK AND WHITE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Hypothesis No.	Independent Variables	Correlation Coefficient		White vs. Black Correlations P-Value
		White	Black	
1	Social Pressures (Parents)	.507***	.523***	NS
2	Social Pressures	.111	.119	NS
3	Perceived Nonconformity	.545***	---	--
4	Past Interference	.015	.319	NS
5	Fear of Future Competition	.493***	---	--
6	Prejudice	.589***	.425**	NS
7	Anxiety About Conflict	.313*	.227	NS
8	Institutional Discrimination	-.118	.428**	.01
9	Political Separation	.487***	.111	.01
10	Authoritarianism	.146	-.133	NS
11	Negativism	.177	.318	NS
12	Assaultiveness	.209*	.270	NS
13	Equal-Status Contact	-.284**	-.155	NS

* = significant at the .05 level

** = significant at the .01 level

*** = significant at the .001 level

TABLE 2

BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
AND WHITES' TENDENCY TO DISCRIMINATE:
SOPHOMORES VS. JUNIORS VS. SENIORS

Hypothesis	Independent Variables	School Class			Comparison Between Samples' P-Value
		Sophomore	Junior	Senior	
1	Social Pressures (Parents)	.513***	.540***	.466***	NS
2	Social Pressures (Peers)	.013	.159	.215*	NS
3	Perceived Nonconformity	.562***	.552***	.531***	NS
4	Past Interference	.016	.237**	-.041	NS
5	Fear of Future Competition	.658***	.494***	.386***	.01
6	Prejudice	.664***	.620***	.497***	NS
7	Anxiety About Conflict	.402***	.327***	.222*	NS
8	Institutional Discrimination	-.128	-.146	-.146	NS
9	Political Separation	.455***	.504***	.491***	NS
10	Authoritarianism	.149	.119	.160	NS
11	Negativism	.001	.210	.295**	.01
12	Assaultiveness	.216*	.176	.275**	NS
13	Equal-Status Contact	-.378***	-.284**	-.218*	NS

* = significant at the .05 level

** = significant at the .01 level

*** = significant at the .001 level

TABLE 3

STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS BETWEEN TENDENCY TO DISCRIMINATE AND FIFTEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Variable	Step	Partial r	Multiple R	Multiple R^2	Increase in R^2	F Ratio	p
White Students							
Prejudice	1	---	.589	.347	---	160.0	.001
Parental Pressures	2	.425	.682	.465	.118	66.2	.001
Political Separatism	3	.238	.704	.496	.031	18.0	.001
Equal-Status Contact	4	-.187	.716	.512	.016	10.9	.001
Fear Future Competition	5	.138	.722	.521	.009	5.7	.01
(C)R ² = .718 (C)R ² = .516							
Black Students							
Parental Pressures	1	---	.523	.274	---	10.94	.01
Perceived Grievances	2	.425	.657	.406	.132	6.19	.01
Assaultiveness	3	.333	.687	.472	.066	3.40	.05
Authoritarianism	4	-.363	.736	.542	.070	3.95	.05
Equal-Status Contact	5	-.406	.785	.616	.074	4.93	.02
(C)R ² = .745 (C)R ² = .557							

* See Footnote 31

TABLE 4

CORRELATION AMONG THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
INCLUDED IN THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS FOR
BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

White Students (N = 303)					
Variable Number					
Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Prejudice	1.000	.306**	.548***	-.201*	.578***
2. Parental Pressure		1.000	.218*	-.151	.257**
3. Political Separation			1.000	-.148	.526***
4. Equal-Status Contact				1.000	-.178
5. Fear of Competition					1.000

Black Students (N = 35)					
Variable Number					
Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Parental Pressures	1.000	.248	.082	.224	-.001
2. Perceived Institutional Discrimination		1.000	.152	.048	.005
3. Assaultiveness			1.000	-.092	.197
4. Authoritarianism				1.000	.175
5. Equal-Status Contact					1.000

* significant at .05 level

** significant at .01 level

*** significant at .001 level